THE WOMAN'S

DREADNOUGHT

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OUR ELECTION CRY. By Keir Hardie

[*The situation has changed since this article was written, and there is now reason to hope that votes for all men and women will be secured before the next General Election. But this article is, nevertheless, of great interest at the present time.*]

There is one aspect of the present political situation which is not without significance.

As a rule the approach of a General Election witnesses the emergence of the issues upon which the contest is to be waged, and their discussion in the Press and on the platform. Thus far, however, not a single big reform of any kind has been mooted. With Tariff Reform discredited, the Unionist Party is left wandering aimlessly in a barren wilderness with neither chart nor compass to guide its footsteps. The glamour of Imperialism and Jingoism, under which Toryism won for itself twenty years of almost unlimited power, has, for the time being, been dispelled, and the Party has nothing to offer in its stead. Opposition to Home Rule is a dead issue. No one will turn a hair whether Ulster be included in or excluded from the Irish Parliament, though, personally, I believe opinion both in Ireland and this country is steadily setting in against exclusion. The Unionists, and their manifold kindred organisations, will pour out money like water on the contest, but that counts for comparatively little without a popular election cry.

Nor are the Liberals in better plight. They will, of course, ask for the confirmation of Home Rule. That, however, is not something for which to fight for the future, but a mere confirmation of something done. The Reform of the House of Lords must also have a place in their programme again and in all likelihood their proposals for this purpose will see the light next session in the form of resolutions. These will need careful watching lest they propose setting up a Second Chamber with all the vices, but without the picturesque redeeming features, of the present House. Both parties will talk the usual platitudes about Social Reform, but, I repeat, there is no present prospect of any great clear-cut democratic issue being raised round which the battle might be waged: Neither party will want to raise any big question of social reform. Housing, Wages Boards, praise or criticism of the Insurance Act; these and kindred topics will bulk largely in most of the speeches, but no really great measure will overtop all the others and rouse the fighting spirit of the masses.



KEIR HARDIE

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Reprinted from the *Labour Leader*, July 2nd, 1914

The Labour Party will not, needless to say, lend countenance to a non-committal contest of the kind foreshadowed. It will formulate its own demands, and these will be kept to the front wherever the banner of Labour Representation is raised. In places where there is no candidate, our friends and supporters will see to it that the candidates of other parties are well heckled on the Labour programme, and the educational value of all this will be great. But here, also, the big issue will be wanting. There will be no fierce advocacy on one side and keen opposition on the other. Everything will be placid and lukewarm, and that state of things always favours reaction.

Is there, then, any question which the Labour Party could force to the front as a big fighting issue? What is the topic upon which, next to militarism, the Socialist and Labour Parties of Europe have in the forefront of their programmes? Franchise reform. In France, Germany, and Belgium, the election policy of the Socialist and Labour Parties is dictated almost exclusively by the determination to make democracy more effective for its political task. The same is true of Russia, Hungary and the Eastern countries of Europe generally.

One of the truest instincts of democracy is that which leads it on to the conquest of political power. In America, the Socialist Party, in one State after another, has thrown itself unreservedly into the movement for the enfranchisement of women, and in the ten or twelve States in which this reform has already been won much of the credit has been freely given to the special support of the Socialist Party through its Press and from its platform. For weeks on end the Socialist Party has, in some States, sacrificed everything in its great fight for votes for women. What the experience of our movement in Europe and abroad, goes to show, is that a fully enfranchised democracy is an essential to

(Continued on page 556, col. 3.)

SOME REMINISCENCES OF J. KEIR HARDIE. By Alex. Gossip

It is now a year ago since we lost our dear comrade, Keir Hardie, and although Time is undoubtedly our friend in so far as it generally softens the blow which everyone feels on the death of a dear and respected friend, the passage of twelve months does not seem to have made much difference in his case, and we feel his loss as keenly to-day as we did in those dark days of 1915, and his presence in our midst in these days of falling away from principles of so many who were recently our comrades, would be an inestimable gain.

Those who were not intimately acquainted with our late comrade were apt to run away with the idea that he was of a very austere and stern type of mind, wholly lacking in a sense of humour, and one who rarely, if ever, smiled, and such persons would scarcely believe us if we were to tell them that none could be blyther or gayer, or more at home in a jolly dance than he.

The first time I met him was in a small Ayrshire town, where he came to speak to the members of the Furnishing Trades at their annual reunion, some thirty years ago, mainly as the result of the efforts of a few of us young enthusiasts, who wanted to break away from the usual affair with the largest employer in the chair, and the local clergyman to tell us how good the employers were in finding us work, etc.

At the conclusion of the tea, concert and meeting, we had a dance, which lasted from 11 p.m. right into the early morning hours, and I do not think Hardie missed more than one dance or two at the most, and those who know anything of the Scottish dances in those byegone days, know the amount of energy one had to put forth, to say nothing whatever of the snapping of fingers and the "Hooching" which was such a prominent feature then, if not so much now.

Football was greatly in vogue in the little town, and I remember saying to him what a pity it was the workers were not prepared to put some part of the energy and enthusiasm displayed in football, into the Labour movement, and his reply was, "Why you are the fourth or fifth man who has said so to me to-night, but just wait, all will come our way yet, you are just a lad, but you will see things." A year or so after that, I, along with two other young comrades, went to Kilmarnock to meet Hardie along with Peter Muir, the then Agent for the Ayrshire Miners, our business being to interview the Liberal candidate, Sir Wm. Wedderburn, and to press on him the advisability of giving his support to certain important questions, amongst which was the eight-hour day. Our late comrade was dressed then in a short velvet jacket with a long flowing necktie, and a more picturesque appearance I have seldom seen. He was the very picture of robust health, and his whole appearance and style were well calculated to capture us young lads and rouse our enthusiasm.

After the interview with Sir William, we had in the reporters, and Hardie laid down some principles of taxation which he was specially interested in at the time, and though I do not remember the details, the taxation was to start with those whose incomes exceeded five hundred per year, and I well remember the reporter's, "Thank goodness, it won't affect me," which made us all laugh and none heartier than our Friend.

Some years later, on going down to some small town in Lanarkshire during a General Election, in which I think our Comrade Smillie was standing as the Labour nominee, there I found Hardie hard at work, addressing circulars and folding and enclosing literature in envelopes, and his cheery voice and hearty laugh, helped us on with the work. He was not one of the stand-off kind, who was above doing such work, such as some of our present-day misleaders are.

During the Amsterdam International Socialist Congress, we held an impromtu concert one night at the hotel where we were staying, and none exerted themselves more to make the evening a pleasant and happy one, than the old Scottish warrior, and of course he sang "Bonnie Mary of Argyle," and none applauded him more heartily than the German comrades present.

He introduced me to Herr Bernstein, who was anxious to gain some information about woodworking in Britain, as "one of his Scottish bairns," though I think he was just about fifty years of age at the time, but somehow he always appeared to be a Father, even in those comparatively early days, to those not much younger than himself.

A night spent with him in his romantic house in Neville's Court was one not likely to be forgotten in a hurry, he sitting there in his chair with his pipe going like a kiln, spinning yarns of "Auld Scotland."

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Bravely and willingly we bear our share of the World's burdens. Why, then, deny us the right to Vote, which would dignify our labour and increase our Power of Service?

"Behold! Spring comes, tho' we must pass, who made
The promise of its birth . . . . . .
From its dark gulph of chains, Earth like an eagle springs." —*Shelley.*

In these days of War, when the minds of multitudes in every nation are engrossed by hatred of their fellows in other lands, who are struggling with the self same evils by which they themselves are oppressed, it is well that we should remember one whose whole energies were fixed upon the ideal of brotherhood for humankind.

Keir Hardie was the workers' champion. By his steadfast toil he, more than any other, created the independent political existence of the Labour movement. His message to his fellows was not that they should secure higher pay or shorter hours, but that the system which divides us into employers and employed should be abolished; that each one of us must work or fail to justify our existence, and that as brothers and sisters we must arrange all labour so that it shall be an entirely pleasant part of life.

To the organised Labour movement Keir Hardie preached complete independence of the capitalist parties. He worked to establish the Parliamentary Labour Party, because he knew that as the workers, with their immense majority of votes, should come to realise the wisdom of supporting it, it must grow until the entire Parliamentary machine should be under its control.

In these days, when the Labour Whip, Mr. G. H. Roberts, M.P., and others of the Party, are advocating "understandings" between employers and employed, when Mr. Bowerman, a Labour M.P. and Trade Union official, is suggesting, as though the forecast were a bold one, that the "*ultimate strength*" of the Labour Party in Parliament will represent one-third of the House, it almost seems as though Keir Hardie's work were undone and its foundations swept away.

But it is not so. Officials in high places may have failed us, but the seed that has been set in the hearts of the people is growing and spreading still.

So it is with the Woman's Movement, of which Keir Hardie was ever the steadfast friend, because he knew it to be but another closely connected phase in the same age-long struggle for human development. To some it may seem that the movement has flagged and dwindled since war broke out. But all that has happened is that the narrow stream, swift and violent, has found for itself a broader and deeper channel. Its outlook has widened and become more human.

We are overwhelmed by the War; we are pained by the hate engendered, by the refusal to judge events from any but one angle. This results in boastful declaiming of the doctrine, "My country, right or wrong," and yet angry denunciation meets the same adage when it is voiced from the opposing side. Our hearts ache for the slaughter, the reprisals claiming their helpless victims, the misuse of the human intelligence in devising wonderful means to kill, and the infringements of popular liberty that proceed apace. It seems that the reaction which is upon us has either swept the evolution of the human race many centuries backward or that the race has fallen into decadence.

But it is not so. The spirit that is creating the atrocities in this War has been always with us. It is the spirit that conquered Poland, snatched Alsace and Lorraine, dominated Egypt, Morocco, Persia, created the wars of all time.

This spirit is naked barbarism—the old fear, cunning and acquisitiveness of the savage, who believes that either he must kill and plunder his fellows or they will kill and plunder him, and who, unawakened as yet to the higher call of the intellect and the spirit, believes that the measure of an individual's happiness increases with the growth of his material wealth.

It was this same ancient barbarism that ostracised and vilified Keir Hardie, because he was ever the champion of those who were exploited, and because in India he met the Indians with the ordinary courtesies that one individual should show to another and with the brotherly love that was in his heart for all mankind.

Keir Hardie hated war and violence, but he was no passive observer of events. He was ever a fighter, not with militarism, but with the mightier forces of ideas. He loved the contest—overwhelming odds never daunted him, but only increased his buoyancy and his zeal. That cheerful courage of his—how much we need it! But if we would be worthy to be his comrades, we must be vigorous and hopeful even as he.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

TO OUR READERS

BEGINNING WITH THE ISSUE OF OCTOBER 7TH, THE "WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT" WILL BE ENLARGED TO SIX PAGES AND COST ONE PENNY WEEKLY.

MR. RUNCIMAN AND THE FOOD PRICES.

In reply to Mr. Yeo, who forwarded a letter from a Poplar Town's Meeting complaining of the increase in food prices, Mr. Runciman protests that the Government has not been inactive in this matter. He states that the Government bought the whole output of frozen meat of New Zealand and Australia, as well as much South American meat, and almost all refrigerated tonnage in the Australian, New Zealand, and South American trades has been requisitioned. Why, then, has the price of frozen meat risen? We know that the Governments of Australia and New Zealand have insisted that the farmers shall sell the meat at a low fixed price; indeed, Mr. Runciman admits that they have helped "in every possible way by special legislation and other measures." Who, then, has raised the price of frozen meat in this country but the British Government itself? Why should the Government sell at high prices the meat which it has bought at a fixed low price in Australia and New Zealand unless it desires to enable the food rings to be maintained? Mr. Runciman also refers to wheat, but has not the Government assured the private traders that it will only sell a limited portion of the wheat which it has bought, in order that it may not embarrass them, and has it not stated that its intention is to store the bulk of its purchase until after Peace has been declared?

Mr. Runciman is too sympathetically inclined towards the private speculator to be able to find it in his heart to deal justly with the mass of the people!

* * * *

A Canadian soldier's wife, writing to the *Daily Chronicle*, complains of the high food prices, and says: "How the poor wives of the Imperial soldiers live on their meagre allowances is a constant theme of conversation among the Canadian women over here. . . . . It wants a branch of the American Housewives' League over here to start something."

* * * *

Mr. Pethick Lawrence, in a letter to the Press, points out that the general rise in prices would not have taken place if the Government had adopted the policy of paying for the War by taxation instead of financing the War by loans, and especially by bank money and other book-made credit.

THE POLISH QUESTION

The Polish question is a European question. The great conquering Powers have looked upon it as decided once and for all; but the present war has revived it again. Besides Russian Poland, Prussian and German Poland must also be considered. In the necessary readjustment of the map of Europe, all the Allied Powers have the same right to discuss the future of the Polish provinces in the Austro-German Empire. No doubt Russia is particularly interested in it; but the question is a European and international one.

In October, 1809, the Czar Alexander intended to add to the treaty of Vienna the proviso: "The Kingdom of Poland shall never be re-established." Napoleon refused to agree. In 1810 he said to the Czar's ambassador: "The Polish situation is a disgrace to France; out of friendship for the Russian Czar I have left it untouched, but I will never sanction an action which would make France indignant. French blood shall not be shed for Poland, but neither shall it be shed against that unhappy nation, to implicate myself so far would be too bad."

At the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, Talleyrand wrote to Metternich that the king, "his master," regarded the Polish question "as the first most imminent European question."

Poland had nothing to expect from a congress where France arrived beaten and humiliated, and where Austria, Prussia, and Russia had decisive power. The partition of Poland was ratified; but under conditions which have never been observed. Religion, language, and the free development of national culture had to be respected, and old privileges maintained. It was promised that Poland, under the sovereignty of Russia, should be autonomous, having its own representatives and army.

In 1846, when Austria incorporated the free town of Cracow, France and England protested; Lord Palmerston declared that the three Powers, Russia, Austria, and Germany had no right to decide on this measure without the other signatory Powers, and he invoked the agreements of the Congress of Vienna, which had established certain guarantees for Poland and had given an international character to the Polish question.

After the Crimean War the Polish question again arose at the Paris Congress of 1856, but the Russian ambassador put it aside under the pretext that his "master," the Czar Alexander, wished that nobody should anticipate him in his generous intention of giving back to Poland all the liberties promised in 1815. The conclusion of these beautiful promises are the famous words: "No dreams, gentlemen!"

At the present moment the Polish territory is entirely occupied by the Austro-German armies. These armies can only be driven out by the common efforts of the Allies, the Russians from the Dwina, the French from Verdun, the English from the Somme and Yser, the Italians from Isonso. Poland belongs to nobody, and the time has perhaps come when she will be returned to herself.

GABRIEL SEAILLES, *Le Journal du Peuple.*

OUR ELECTION CRY—

success in the fight for Socialism.

The struggle for the vote has always roused the fighting spirit of the working class as nothing else has done. In 1832 they were prepared to fight for a Bill which did not give them votes, but which, at least, encroached upon the political monopoly of the ruling propertied classes. In 1866, and again in 1884, public feeling was at white heat over the Franchise Bills of those years, and since then nothing whatever has been seriously attempted further to strengthen the political power of the masses. Our absurd registration laws and antiquated semi-property franchise qualifications keep between three million and four million men off the voters' list every year, whilst all women are shut out by their sex. Clearly this cannot be allowed to continue. Sooner or later, the franchise must be completely popularised and applied to both sexes alike.

The Labour Party has frequently declared for adult suffrage. Why not make this the big fighting issue of the coming General Election? It would appeal to the fighting instincts of our members, and raise the whole issue of adult suffrage from the academic to the actual sphere of practical politics. Such a measure would require to find a place in the first session of the new Parliament, so as to ensure it the privileges of the Parliament Act.

Already, Mr. Arthur Henderson has on several occasions introduced such a measure on behalf of the Labour Party, though it has never been fortunate enough to find a first place in the ballot. Some of its clauses may require revision, especially those dealing with proposals for some form of proportional representation. That, however, is a detail which could easily be adjusted. Were this Bill to be forced upon the attention of the Government and the country with sufficient energy, in Parliament and the constituencies; were we, that is to say, to follow the example set us by our comrades of France and Belgium, we could make it impossible for the Liberal Party, and difficult for the Unionists to refuse the measure a prominent place upon their programmes.

I commend the matter to the serious attention of all who are interested in the welfare of the Party. Another annual Conference of the Labour Party will be held before another session opens—that is if we don't have a dissolution meanwhile. For the moment the question can be discussed and considered, and the way prepared for a decision. With the resolutions already passed at the ordinary conferences, and at least one special conference, the Party and the Executive may even find itself justified in taking the initiative in the matter. But, that apart, my present object is to try to draw from the movement itself some expression of opinion.

Time slips past, and the election draws near, and we must not allow the orthodox parties alone to decide the issues on which it has to be fought. I believe an Adult Suffrage Campaign would enlist great masses of the electors on our side, and would, besides, lead to an early and complete victory.

THE TRADE BANK

MONEYLENDERS AGAIN

The committee, mainly composed of directors of joint stock banks, appointed by Mr. Runciman to consider the question of establishing a British Trade Bank, has issued its report. It recommends that a Trade Bank shall be established with a capital of £10,000,000, to lend money for enterprises, in the case of which, either because of the long credit required or for other reasons, the existing banks consider it imprudent to make advances. They insist that the Trade Bank shall not interfere with existing banks, and shall pledge itself for a specified period not to open branches or agencies, even where no British foreign bank exists.

Government money to set the affair going is not asked for, but we expect to learn, when the details of the scheme are produced, that the Government will be expected to take the risk of paying up in case of failure.

A significant sentence in the report states that: "If financial assistance is given by the Government to undertakings in connection with what are known as 'key' industries, the business should, if possible, be done through the medium of the institution." We must keep clearly fixed in our mind the fact that "financial assistance by the Government" means that the workers, out of their scanty earnings, are to pay for the commercial ventures of their masters, for the bulk of the revenue raised by taxations is drawn from the working class.

The bankers on the committee, who no doubt intend both to take shares in this new Trade Bank and to borrow from it when it suits them to do so, emphatically state that the Government must have no share of control in the management of either the Trade Bank itself or the ventures to which it lends money, though in Germany, from whence the Trade Bank idea has been borrowed, a representative from the Trade Bank usually sits on the board of directors of any concern to which it lends money.

It is recommended that the Board of Trade and Foreign Office shall place all their information at the disposal of the Trade Bank, and that the British Embassies and Legations shall put the representatives of the Trade Bank in touch with all commercial attachés, consuls, &c., and shall make it known that the institution enjoys "the full confidence and approval of the Government."

All the nation's prestige, and even its Army and Navy, in the last resort, are to be put at the disposal of the money-lenders when money is to be made. When money is to be risked, as at the outbreak of War, the State stands behind the moneylenders, and then it agrees to borrow money from them at very high interest.

Let the State be its own banker—that is the only way to safeguard the interests of the people!

A YEAR AGO: By Frank Smith

As I pen these lines Keir's kindly eyes look down upon me from his place on the wall of my room. Some people speak of him as having "gone." It is true, he went away from us a year ago. And yet, in reality he has not "gone," for his spirit is with us for all time.

There are many phrases glibly spoken which are accepted as embodying truth, because of the persistence with which we use them. For instance, "familiarity breeds contempt," which, as commonly interpreted, suggests that the more intimately you know a person the less you think of that person. However much truth there may be in this concerning some people, it could never apply to Keir.

After twenty-five years of unbroken intimacy with him, the qualities which stand out clear and distinct in my mind are, his courage, steadfastness, and clear-sighted devotion to the cause of humanity, and an utter disregard for personal advancement.

How much we need his forceful character to lead and direct us in these days when humanity is being swept along on a tide of hate and selfishness to destruction.

I think of him as he stood comparatively alone a little more than two years ago, at the time when the *débris* of shattered hopes met his weary eye, and broken vows clashed harshly on his ears, when, instead of the Socialists of the world standing solid and triumphant in the face of danger, they allowed themselves to be swept off their feet by false patriotism, and joined hands with the enemies of humanity, and so made possible the misery and slaughter which prevails to-day.

I see him standing unmoved and immovable amidst a taunting, and jibing, and buffeting it has been the lot of few men to endure. Spat upon, and while inwardly bleeding wiping away the excresence with dignified personal unconcern.

How hard he worked to cement the foundations of international brotherhood; to bring about a condition of things that would prevent Kaisers, Tzars, and Kings, yellow journalists and "patriotic" profiteers from demanding that workers should deliver up their sons, wives their husbands, or girls their lovers to the War God, "which shows how superficial was his outlook," some unthinking ones have declared. Nay, rather does it show how magnificent was his faith in the men and women of the working world.

And when, as one after another of the warning sentinels who, for a time, stood by his side, disappeared in the mad stream, he continued to stand, as we knew he would, firm and unmoved.

Six months before the storm burst he wrote:

> "An international ring of sordid armament and naval contractors is adding its fiendish influence to the great conspiracy for keeping the working class in subjection. And thus, in the year 1914 of the Christian era, the nations are being converted into huge armed camps. The fear of the growing power of organised labour is behind it all. Let the workers have no misunderstanding on that point. Kings, Emperors, Tzars, and Presidents, Barons, Financiers, Landowners, Capitalists, see and fear the coming of the common people into their own. And they hope by their cunning methods to protect themselves behind a cordon of machine guns, and to create afresh the old-time spirit of working-class servility. In practically every nation in the world militarism is now being played off against the rising power of the working class."

How clear-sighted and true this pronouncement was, we now know. How much the world has lost as the result of the workers everywhere failing to rally to their own standard in response to his call cannot, even approximately, be estimated.

And we shall reallse when the storm of hell, now raging, has passed, how true was another of his statements, that "War is a ruinous game in which victor and vanquished are equal losers."

In these days, when people are moved by so many, and varying influences, it is well to find out why it was that Keir remained so steadfast and true and never changed his course. It was his love for humanity. That was the foundation upon which all his efforts were based. It was this that saved him from being turned aside by artfully prepared political traps. I remember on one occasion when he was helping me in one of my election campaigns, when I was attempting to deal with current political questions he pulled me up by saying, "Stop all that political hair-splitting and get on with things that really matter, the well-being of the women and the children," and he was right. What matters anything so long as the women and the children are neglected? What shall we have gained worth having, if the women of our nation are still without a voice in Government and the future of the children is left to chance?

It was to remove these fundamental blunders and crimes against humanity that Keir laboured so arduously. It is to continue that work until it is accomplished that forms our task. Let us see to it that we, like Keir, fail not. And when the time comes, as it assuredly will, when the unjust burdens which press upon men and women alike are removed; when every child will have a fair opportunity to grow to happy, healthy manhood and womanhood, when wars shall have ceased and brotherhood rule the wide world over, then will Keir's hopes, aims, and work have been recognised and realised. It is our work to see that this comes to pass. Let us get on with it.

ADULT SUFFRAGE JOINT COMMITTEE

Chairman: Fred Bramley, 58 Theobalds Road, W.C.; *Hon. Treasurer*: Dr. A. Salter, J.P., 5 Storks Road, Bermondsey, S.E.; *Hon. Secretary*: E. Sylvia Pankhurst, 400 Old Ford Road, E.

GREAT DEMONSTRATION

For VOTES for ALL MEN and ALL WOMEN at Euston Theatre, Euston Road, Sunday, October 8th, at 6 p.m. (It will be moonlight.) Admission free.

Speakers—Mrs. Barton, Fred Bramley, Robert Williams, W. Carter, Harry Dubery, E. C. Fairchild, Sylvia Pankhurst.

Let all the people be voters at the next General Election whenever it comes! No Registration Bill, but a Franchise Bill to give Votes to All!

WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION
(GLASGOW BRANCH)

A DEMONSTRATION

will be held in the CITY HALL, Candleriggs, Glasgow on Thursday, 12th Oct., at 8 p.m. (doors open at 7-15)

SPEAKERS— [Admission 3d.

Miss E. SYLVIA PANKHURST, W.S.F., LONDON
Mr. JOHN SCURR, LONDON
Mrs. EMMA BOYCE, W.S.F., LONDON
Mrs. HELEN CRAWFURD, W.F.L., GLASGOW
Councillor P. J. DOLLAN, GLASGOW, and others

Tickets on sale at Reformers' Bookstall, 126 Bothwell Street; or from members.

COME! DEMAND THE VOTE FOR ALL

HUMAN SUFFRAGE

Get the Human Suffrage resolution signed by every organisation with which you are concerned!

This meeting calls on the Government to introduce not a Registration Bill but a Franchise Bill to give a vote to every woman and man over 21.

The following organisations have passed the above resolution since our last list was published:—Stanley I.L.P., Huddersfield Central I.L.P., Cardiff I.L.P., Wimbledon and District Trades and Labour Council; Perth Trades and Labour Council; Woodford and District Trades and Labour Council, Hampstead I.L.P., All Hallows Miners, Leeds I.L.P. Federal Council, Annual Conference of the Scottish Advisory Council of the Labour Party.

SCOTTISH LABOUR PARTY DEMAND PEACE: By P. J. Dollan

The Scottish Labour movement has never at any time during the past two years been a war movement; and all through the period of organised slaughter has maintained a sane internationalism and a profound belief in the ultimate victory of Humanity over Force. Scottish Labourists have learned long ago that war is a barbaric futility, and have wasted no efforts in assisting the prosecution of a futility. They have acted as men and women should act who believe that Labour has been too long oppressed by those whose power is buttressed by exploitation and war. The Scots have opposed war all through.

Whatever regrets normal Socialists may have experienced regarding the vague and sentimental decisions of the Labour Party and Trade Union Congresses held at Bristol and Birmingham, those regrets are more than atoned for by the Humanitarian and International convictions expressed in the resolutions which were adopted at the first annual conference of the Scottish Advisory Council of the Labour Party held at Edinburgh on Saturday last. Despite the eloquent and lachrymal appeals of orators who had aroused, we have heard, great "national" enthusiasm at Birmingham, the Scottish delegates remained firm to their principles and convictions, and on every occasion endorsed those resolutions opposing militarism and favouring Peace.

The delegates were given the right lead by the Executive Committee of the Advisory Council which has refused to take any part in recruiting, thrift, or other alleged patriotic campaigns. In their report, *which was adopted unanimously*, the Executive Committee recorded that: "On the question of Recruiting for the Army, it was unanimously resolved by your E.C. that the invitation of the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee should be declined; and further, the Secretary was requested to convey to Headquarters the unanimous opinion of the Committee that the Scottish Secretary should take no part in recruiting as an individual, but should confine himself to his ordinary work." That attitude has been general in the Scottish local Labour organisations, all of which have refrained from active participation in recruiting campaigns. On this point Scotland is at complete variance with the Henderson policy. The delegates, however, improved on the lead given by the Executive. By 50 votes to 33 they passed a resolution, opposing military and industrial compulsion, and, demanding "the immediate repeal of the Military Service Acts." By 66 votes to 13, they approved of a motion: "That the Labour Party urge the International Bureau to call together at the earliest moment the Labour and Socialist Parties of *all* European countries with a view to the discussion of joint proposals of importance to the cause of Labour." That decision is an absolute reversal of the Birmingham resolution, which was hailed by the jingo press as a Labour renunciation of Internationalism. The conference, by 57 votes to 29, also decided "that having regard to the military situation, and the enormous wastage of human life and treasure, this Council urges the Government to take the earliest possible opportunity to commence negotiations for Peace."

The adoption of the above three resolutions by such convincing majorities makes it absolutely clear in Scotland that organised political Labour (1) retains its faith in Internationalism; (2) favours an early settlement of the war by negotiation; and (3) is uncompromisingly opposed to conscription. The conference was in every way representative of the "Labour" side of the movement, and out of 100 delegates who attended, only four were directly representing the I.L.P., and two the B.S.P. Thus the avowedly Socialist bodies had only six delegates at the conference, which is a point worth noting in combating any attempt made to minimise the decisions of the conference as "being due to pacifist intrigue." The conference simply maintained the traditions of Scottish Labourism which, Heaven be praised, has never been a movement that side-slipped when the sentimentalists went off the track.

On social and industrial questions the conference maintained its sane reputation. It was agreed to demand: (1) Increased pensions for the aged; (2) State grants, free of interest, for housing schemes by local authorities; the adoption of the Right to Work and a maximum "8-hours day" for all workers to prevent unemployment after the war; (4) the vote for all men and women who have reached the age of 21 years; (5) the nationalisation of railways with a share of the control for the workers; (6) Home Rule for Scotland; and (7) the general enforcement by local authorities of the Notification of Births (Extension) Act. In connection with the latter proposal it was stated that for every British soldier killed in the war eight babies died whose lives could have been saved by proper treatment.

Altogether the conference was a great triumph for Labour and Internationalism, and the results, it is hoped will not be disregarded by the National Labour Party, which has been hopelessly inept for the past two years. Mr. G. J. Wardle, M.P., Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party, was present, and was told several times by delegates that "it was time the Labour Party was doing something." The conference atmosphere seemed too rebellious for Mr. Wardle, who should be able to inform his colleagues that Scotland at least has no use for a faint-hearted Labour Party. The Scottish Labourists cannot be expected to wait always on a backward Labour Party that is for ever lagging behind, and unless the National Executive improve their pace they may find the Scottish comrades too far ahead on the road to Socialism to be overtaken.

Much credit is due to Mr. R. Smillie, Chairman of the Scottish Advisory Council of the Labour Party, for the courage and independence he has shown in warding off the attacks of militarism from the Scottish movement. Smillie has kept his head and his principles all through the war, and his influence has certainly steadied the rank and file. If there had been a few more Smillies among the English trade union leaders Labour would not be occupying the ignoble position into which it has fallen, because of blundering guidance. Robert Smillie is a man whose worth is not excelled in all the Labour movement.

Dr. Vernon, who has been investigating conditions in munition factories, reports that shorter hours increase output. He says that a "reduction of the working hours to 56 per week would have no adverse effect on output." Frequent rest periods are also recommended. The Health of Munition Workers' Committee states that it is not yet in a position to express a final opinion on Dr. Vernon's report!

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LONDON MEETINGS.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 29th.
Custom House, 6 p.m., Miss Lynch.
Bow Women's Hall, 7.45 p.m., Lecture.
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 30th.
Grundy Street, 11 a.m., Miss Lynch.
Philpot Street, 3.30 p.m., Miss Price.
SUNDAY, OCTOBER 1st.
Osborn Street, 11.30 a.m., Miss Lynch, Mr. Arnall.
Hyde Park, 4 p.m., Mrs. Cressall, Mrs. Bouvier.
The Square, Woolwich, 6.30 p.m., Mrs. Walker.
Poplar Women's Hall, 7 p.m., Debate.
MONDAY, OCTOBER 2nd.
White Cross Street, 1 p.m., Miss Price.
Charlton Street, Euston, 6.30 p.m., Miss Lynch, Mr. Mackinlay.
Green Gate, 7 p.m., Mrs. Cressall.
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 3rd.
Charlton Street, Euston, 6.30 p.m., Miss Price.
Outside Jones Brothers, Holloway, 7 p.m., Miss Lynch, Mrs. Withers.
Bow Women's Hall, 8 to 10 p.m., Reading Room.
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 4th.
Poplar Women's Hall, 8.30 p.m., Lecture.
43 St. Leonard's Street, 3 p.m., Mrs. Drake.
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 5th.
Outside Jones Brothers, 11.30 a.m., Miss Lynch, Miss Price.
124 Barking Road, 3 p.m., Mrs. Peter Thompson, Mrs. Parsons.
Poplar Women's Hall, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier, Mrs. Shlette.
Chandos Hall, 3.30 p.m., At Home.
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 6th.
Charlton Street, Euston, 6.30 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
Cobden Statue, 6.30 p.m., Mrs. Walker, Mr. Mackinlay.
Bow Women's Hall, 7.45 p.m., Lecture.
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 7th.
Outside Jones Brothers, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Bouvier, Miss Lynch.
Grundy Street, 11 a.m., Miss Price.
SUNDAY, OCTOBER 8th.
Hyde Park, 3 p.m., Miss Rickards, Miss Somers.
Euston Theatre, 6 p.m., Votes for All Demonstration.
Bow Women's Hall, 3 p.m., Conference.

HYDE PARK MEETING

Mrs. Walker had a splendid meeting in Hyde Park on Sunday, September 24th. A huge and enthusiastic crowd gathered. At the close of the meeting members of the audience insisted on carrying the platform, and though a collection is not allowed, friends insisted on pressing 6s. 9d. into Mrs. Walker's hands.

* * * *

Bow, 400 Old Ford Road. Secretary: Miss Price.—DREADNOUGHT sales for week ending September 23rd, 814. Miss Hoevler, 227; Miss O'Brien, 208; Miss Price, 88; Miss Charles, 48; Mrs. Eglinton, 42; Mrs. Bellyse, 24; Miss Farrall, 14; general, 103.

CAXTON HALL EXHIBITION

The Exhibition to be held in the Caxton Hall on December 7th, 8th, and 9th, from 3 to 10 daily will include:—Sweated Industries Section, arranged by Mrs. Drake; Food Prices Exhibit, arranged by Miss E. Dyce Sharp; Mothercraft Exhibit; Dalcroze Demonstration: lecture will be given by Miss Storr, M.A., Lecturer at the Goldsmith' College; Montessori Demonstration and Lecture by Miss Muriel Matters, who has studied with Dr. Maria Montessori in Rome. A fine concert is being kindly arranged by Mrs. Hercbergova, and a pageant by Dr. Harry Shütze. The Exhibition will be opened on the first day by Mr. Israel Zangwill, on the second day by Mr. Hogge, M.P., who has worked so hard to secure adequate pensions and allowances for the soldiers and sailors and their wives and relatives, and on the third day by Miss Emily Hobhouse, whose international work and sympathies are well known. Other speakers will include Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mr. R. L. Outhwaite, M.P., Miss Susan Lawrence, Mrs. Drake, Mrs. Walker, Mrs. Bouvier, Mr. George Lansbury, and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.

The East London Co-operative Toy Factory will sell its charming toys, and there will be garment, sweet, flower, farm produce, and literature stalls.

Friends are asked to help in stocking these stalls and in making the Exhibition known. Communications should be addressed to the Exhibition Secretary, Miss Sonia Rodker, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

COMPARATIVE VALUES.

We learn that Mr. Robert Williams, General Secretary of the Transport Workers' Federation, has received a notice calling him up for military service, although his Federation testifies to his indispensability. Yet on the appeal of Mrs. Inge, the Lady Master of the Atherston Hunt, five servants were exempted the other day.

"DREADNOUGHT" SOCIAL

A Social and Dance will be held in aid of the DREADNOUGHT Fund at the Women's Hall, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, on Saturday, October 14th, at 7 p.m. Tickets, 3d. Refreshments at popular prices. There will be a moon that night, so friends need not fear the Zepps!

Readers and Friends are reminded of the Special "Dreadnought" Week, in aid of the funds of the paper, from October 6th to 13th.

W.S.F. FORTHCOMING EVENTS

Mr. John Scurr has kindly arranged to give a course of lectures entitled, "The Growth of the English People," on Wednesday evenings, at 8.30 prompt, in the Women's Hall, 20 Railway Street, Poplar, E. The subjects are:—

Oct. 4th. "The Wars with France."
,, 11th. "The Break up of Feudalism."
,, 18th. "The Reformation."
,, 25th. "The Spacious Days of Elizabeth."
Nov. 1st. "The Building of the Constitution."
,, 8th. "The Beginning of Empire."
,, 15th. "The Industrial Revolution."
,, 22nd. "The Triumph of the Middle Class."
,, 29th. "The Uplift of Labour."

We hope that members and friends will make a point of attending. Admission free.

A series of educative lectures on Economics, Trade Unionism, History of Socialism, National Guilds, &c., has been organised by Mrs. Hercbergova to take place at 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E., on Friday evenings at 7.45. The opening lecture is on Friday September 29th, at 7.45 p.m., when Miss M. S. E. Milton, of the Fabian Society, will speak on "Women as Citizens." The other lectures are:—

Oct. 6th. Mrs. Peter Thompson, "The Weakness of Ignorance; Moral Education."
,, 13th. Mr. E. C. Fairchild, "How to Secure a Permanent Peace."
,, 20th. Mr. Walton Newbold, "The Conquest of Economic Power."
,, 27th. Miss Mabel Lawrence, "The History of British Socialism."
Nov. 3rd. Mr. J. Fineberg (B.S.P.), "Theory of Karl Marx."
,, 10th. Mrs. Lafitte-Cyon, "French Revolution."
,, 17th. Mrs. Lafitte-Cyon, "French Revolution."
,, 24th. Miss Mabel Lawrence, "International Socialism."
Dec. 1st. Mr. G. D. H. Cole, "Trade Unions. Next Step, National Guilds."
,, 15th. Professor Masaryk, "Tolstoi's Philosophy of Religion."

Poplar Women's Hall, to-morrow, Sunday, October 1st, 7 p.m. Debate, "Should the War be Stopped Now?" Mr. G. E. Smith (League of Peace and Freedom) will take the affirmative, Miss Nina Boyle (Freedom League) the negative. Admission free.

On October 5th, 3 p.m., at 124 Barking Road, Canning Town, Mrs. Peter Thompson (Association for Moral and Social Hygiene) will speak on "Sex Education." Admission free.

An adjourned conference on "Industrial Problems after the War" will be held on October 7th, from 3 p.m. to 6 p.m., and 6.30 p.m. to 9 p.m., at 400 Old Ford Road, Bow.

Every Thursday in October and November At Homes will be held at Chandos Hall (21a Maiden Lane, W.C.), at 3.30 p.m. Thursday, October 5th, 3.30 p.m., the speakers will be Miss Eva Gore-Booth, "Supremacy of Conscience"; Mr. W. F. Watson (A.S.E.), "Industrial Organisation of Women." Chair, Miss S. Pankhurst. Thursday, October 12th, 3.30 p.m., Mr. Arthur Field, "Woman in Turkey, Past and Present"; Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, "The Present Outlook." Chair, Mrs. Bouvier.

Caxton Hall Exhibition, December 7th, 8th, and 9th, from 3 to 10 p.m. daily.

SHEFFIELD.

On October 1st, at 7.30 p.m., at Temperance Hall, Townhead Street, a meeting will be held where Miss Sylvia Pankhurst will speak with Mrs. Councillor Barton in the chair.

WHO WILL SPEAK FIRST?

The Swiss Federal Council, having been petitioned to take steps to hasten the coming of peace, states that, while understanding and sharing the desire for peace, it does not believe that the hour to make the representations demanded has arrived, in view of the loss of national prestige which would result if the Government, acting on its own responsibility, met with a rebuff.

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